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Mormons and the Smallpox Epidemic of 1853

THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES arrived in Hawai'i in 1820, just months after the death of Kamehameha I and the abolition of the taboo system. The missionaries converted leading chiefs to Christianity, and the people followed. They established congregations, schools, and hospitals throughout the Islands and became principal advisers to the king. By the time the first ten Mormon missionaries arrived in December 1850, Hawai'i had been officially Christian for ten years.¹

The Mormons quickly discovered that the foreign population had little or no interest in Mormonism. Unable to understand or speak Hawaiian, five became discouraged and left the mission within two or three months, leaving George Q. Cannon, James Keeler, William Farrer, and Henry Bigler on Maui and James Hawkins on the Big Island.²

In March 1851 Cannon³ left his companions in Lahaina and set out on his own to live among the natives and learn the language. He was befriended by a prominent lawyer and landowner in Wailuku, Jonathana H. Napela.⁴ Napela and two friends, K. H. Kaleohano and William Uaua, all English-speaking graduates of Lahainaluna, were baptized and became the Mormon nucleus on Maui.⁵ They provided Cannon and his companions with food, clothes, housing, and horses. They translated for the elders and taught them the language.

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The Hawaiian Journal of History, vol. 31 (1997)

Cannon preached Mormonism from the Bible and from the Book of Mormon—the sacred record, he testified, of ancient Israelites who left Jerusalem in 421 B.C. and sailed to America. In time, some of their descendants sailed west and became the progenitors of the Polynesian people. As Israelites, Hawaiians had a special relationship to God. When Cannon preached to the Hawaiians from the Book of Mormon, he reported, tears flowed down their cheeks “like little Children.”⁶

Cannon also emphasized the prophecy in Daniel 2 regarding a small stone cut out of the mountain without hands, which would roll forth and break in pieces the kingdoms of the earth, ushering in the kingdom of God. The stone, Mormons taught, was the restored church of Jesus Christ, organized by Joseph Smith in 1830. The church had grown rapidly as missionaries were sent to the far reaches of the earth, and when Jesus returned to begin the millennial reign, Hawaiians were destined for an exalted station.⁷

To those Hawaiians who felt severed from their ancestors by traditional Christianity, these were powerful doctrines. And, in contrast to the Protestant clergy, Cannon and his companions, at least initially, did not ask for a regular donation or tax, nor for a house or salary—only for a meal, a night’s lodging, or the use of a horse for a day or two.

In addition, while Protestants imposed a probationary period of five or six months, Mormons usually baptized applicants on request. Unlike the Protestants, who rarely ordained native ministers, the Mormons commonly ordained men to the priesthood within a matter of weeks—first to the office of “teacher,” then, after a few months, to the office of “priest.” Priests could baptize, preside over branches of the church, administer the sacrament, and, with an elder, lay on hands to bless the sick.

By June 1851, Cannon, assisted by Napela, Kaleohano, and Uaua, was baptizing almost daily in Kula. In August, up to forty were baptized at a time in East Maui. Natives were coming before he was up in the morning, requesting baptism.⁸

Meanwhile, William Farrer and Henry Bigler had gone to O‘ahu, where J.W.H. Kauwahi became the island’s first native convert. Kauwahi was another English-speaking graduate of Lahainaluna and a

lawyer, a *konohiki* at Hau'ula, member of the legislature, and owner of a store in Honolulu.⁹ After studying Mormonism with Farrer for three months, Kauwahi was baptized on 17 August 1851 and instantly became the most effective Mormon preacher on O'ahu. With his assistance, in two months Farrer and Bigler baptized sixty-six in Ko'olau.¹⁰

Angered by the Mormon sheep-stealing, Protestants declared they would tear down the lānai erected for Mormon meetings, and one *konohiki* threatened to evict the tenant who allowed the meetings. Then, in November, Punalu'u residents threatened to have the converts imprisoned. A chief directed his *konohiki* to evict all Mormons but retracted the directive when Farrer and Kauwahi visited him in Honolulu to assert their rights.¹¹

Nevertheless, the Mormons had difficulty retaining their converts. In January 1852, William Farrer lamented, "The brethren & sisters here mostly begin to waver & many have already left the church and gone to the calvanistic church. . . . They appear to be leaving about as fast as they came in."¹²

But in February reinforcements arrived—four elders from Utah and (very unusual for Mormon missions) their wives: Phillip B. Lewis and Jane Stevens; John S. Woodbury and Martha Parker; William G. Perkins and Patty Perkins; Francis A. Hammond and Mary Jane Dilworth. A tinsmith, Lewis set up shop in Honolulu to raise funds for the mission and attend to administrative chores. The Woodburys went to open up the work on Moloka'i, the Perkinses to join Hawkins on the Big Island, the Hammonds to Lahaina. Hammond had lived in Lahaina for three years, working as a shoemaker, before going to San Francisco in 1848 and joining the Mormons. His knowledge of the language gave him a great advantage compared to Woodbury, who struggled with it, and Lewis, who eventually learned to read but could understand very little spoken Hawaiian.

Soon thereafter, Maui natives began seeking out the elders as healers. "Thare has been several men and woman healed by laying on of hands," Hammond wrote in May.

Some had been crippled for years, and had to creep on their hands and knees. Some had the dropsey very bad, had been given up to die

but now are well and rejoycing in the truth, & the Devil is rageing with great force, but the saints are strong in the faith and increasing in knowledge and power.¹³

Napela's wife, Kitty, suffered from seizures. During one particularly severe attack, Cannon and Napela laid their hands on her, blessed her, and the attack immediately ended.¹⁴

In early February 1853, Cannon was asked to administer to an elderly man, recently baptized, who had been blind for years. Cannon laid his hands on the man and blessed him. In the morning, the man reported he could see.¹⁵

About the same time, Uaua returned home one day to find the body of his apparently lifeless wife surrounded by weeping relatives. They told him she had been dead for three hours. He anointed her with consecrated oil, laid hands on her, and prayed. She was "immediately restored & arose as he said amen."¹⁶

The eight elders, spread over four islands, were hard pressed to keep up with the demands for their services. They were elated when nine more arrived on 17 February 1853. They were: Reddin A. and Reddick N. Allred, Ephraim Green, Benjamin F. Johnson, Thomas Karren, James Lawson, William McBride, Egerton Snider, and Nathan Tanner.

Lewis sent word for the other missionaries to come to Honolulu for a conference at which they would all receive new assignments. In the meantime, he arranged with a Mr. Booth to use the merchant's exchange on the 27th. The elders took out an ad in the *Argus* and posted handbills throughout the city.¹⁷

A good crowd of foreigners was on hand that Sunday and paid good attention. Another service was announced for the following week. Booth, however, withdrew his offer, and the owner of the Liberty Hall explained "it would be against his interest" to grant the Mormons the use of his hall. "We were informed that the Rev. Gentlemen were telling natives that we had come to take the kingdom & for them to meet in the churches without delay & pray that all doors might be closed against us, so that we could not get a place to preach in," Reddick Allred wrote.¹⁸

They were turned down at the Exchange Hotel and the seaman's chapel but succeeded in renting Mr. Burgess's carpenter shop. Plac-

ards were posted all over town, and in the morning and afternoon of Sunday, 6 March, William Farrer preached the first Mormon sermons to native residents of Honolulu. Three came forward to be baptized.¹⁹

The three-day elders conference commenced on the 9th. Nearly a thousand natives had been baptized on Maui and approximately two hundred on the other islands. Five of the new missionaries were assigned to Maui to learn the language, three to O'ahu, and one to Moloka'i.²⁰

Following the conference, Cannon preached to natives, and six were baptized the next day.²¹ But when he and the others departed for their fields of labor, none was left in the city who could speak Hawaiian. Though he had been in the Islands eighteen months, Lewis could read but not speak the language.²² Farrer, who was proficient in Hawaiian,²³ returned to Ko'olau, as did Bigler, who after more than three years had difficulty understanding the members of his own branches.²⁴ They relied heavily on Kauwahi.

The food, heat, and absence of Hawaiian-speaking mentors discouraged the new missionaries in Honolulu. B. F. Johnson and Nathan Tanner became sick. By early April, Johnson was "sad & dishartend," and Thomas Karren was "nearly in dispair."²⁵

Fortunately, on 30 March, Uaua, who had enjoyed great proselyting success on Maui and Moloka'i, came to Honolulu.²⁶ And on 2 April, Kauwahi, in town to attend the legislature, teamed up with Farrer in Waikahalulu, where most of Honolulu Saints lived.²⁷

On Sunday, 10 April, Uaua preached his first sermon in Honolulu. Three were baptized the next morning. Tanner was elated.

All the farern Elders will have to do hereafter will be to instruct the native Elders in prinsaple they haveing the power of their one language & I now think if I can be able to teach them the prinsaples of truth . . . they can teach it to the balance of the nation.

The following Sunday, Uaua spoke to a packed audience and three more were baptized, followed by five on Monday, six on Tuesday, and two on Wednesday.

"Sum of the cheafs are very believing," Tanner rejoiced, "& we are incuredging br Uaua all that we can and instructing him what to dow & he is doing the best he can . . . inlightning the King & the

chiefs." Uaua's name "when inturpeted is rane rane, but I think he is a purfect thunder storm & will soon flood these Islesands with Mormonism."²⁸

"We adopted the policy of ordaining every native that we thought would do any good, and instructed them, and set them at work in Honolulu and surrounding country," Tanner wrote.²⁹

On 22 April Uaua and Kauwahi were ordained elders, Thomas Paku and John W. Kahumoku were ordained priests, and Isaaka Kahooulawa was ordained a teacher.³⁰ Kahumoku would soon go to Hawai'i as spokesman for Tanner and Karren.³¹ Kahooulawa and Paku became Henry Bigler's spokesmen, and in just two weeks they would baptize a hundred and organize a branch (congregation) at Kane'ohe.³²

On 24 April, Uaua's third Sunday in Honolulu, he and Kauwahi spoke to a large, attentive audience. "The Spirit of the Lord was with them," Farrer attested, "& they spoke with power. . . . The crowd gathered round & soon after meeting commenced the house was filled to overflowing & more outside . . . than could get near to hear."

That afternoon Farrer and Kauwahi announced their intention to organize a branch and invited all who wished to be baptized to join them at "king's falls" (Kapena) a mile and a half from town.³³ As the people filed out of the meeting hall, the meeting also broke up. The cry went out, "What's up? What's up?" "The Mormans going to babtise." Curious onlookers poured into the streets until those in the middle of the throng could not see the end of the procession in either direction.³⁴

At the falls, a thousand onlookers positioned themselves on the banks around the pool. The proselytes were invited to come forward and give their names. Uaua questioned them regarding their faith and their commitment to forsake their sins. Then he instructed them on the nature of the covenants they were about to make. The candidates stepped up to the water's edge, and he "called on the multitude to Keep good order while the ordinance was being performed & . . . called on the people to take of[f] their hats while singing & prayer was attended to." Following the hymn, Uaua prayed. Then he and Farrer went down into the water and baptized thirty-nine. It was, Farrer wrote, "a scene long to be remembered."³⁵

The Honolulu branch was organized two days later with seventy-five members. After the meeting, six more were added, and three teachers and five deacons were ordained.³⁶

On the following Sunday, 1 May, Uaua and Kauwahi spoke again, and forty-three presented themselves for baptism. Again a large crowd witnessed the ordinance, while another group listened to Uaua's next sermon, a quarter of a mile away. Thirteen requested baptism there, and they too were followed to the water by a large number of people. In the next seven days 110 more were added.³⁷

The baptisms attracted the attention of the Reverend Ephraim Clark—and he was not pleased. "One or two [Mormon] converts from Lahainaluna . . . have made quite a stir for a week or two past," he reported, "leading captive silly women & silly men too laden with divers lust, most of them from the dregs of Honolulu. They have been urged into the water on a sudden excitement, thus turning the solemn ordinance of baptism into a farce."³⁸

While Uaua and Kauwahi were doing the preaching, the Utah elders—even though they could not speak or understand Hawaiian—were in great demand to administer to the sick. "There is hundreds of sick adminestered to hear & they are after us all the time & all maner of deseases, sum of the most despet cases you can a magen & none have failed to be wall satesfied as yet & I must say I have never seen more faith than I have in Honalulu," Tanner wrote.³⁹

Scabies was a common, highly contagious disease, caused by mites that produced large, festering sores all over the body.⁴⁰ As repulsive as scabies was to the Utah elders, however, syphilis was worse. One doctor described its effects:

Foul ulcers, of many years standing . . . every where abound, and visages horribly deformed—eyes rendered blind—noses entirely destroyed—mouths monstrously drawn aside from their natural position, ulcerating palates and almost useless arms and legs, mark most clearly the state and progress of the disease. . . .⁴¹

"It is heart sickning to see the awful affects of the venereal deseases upon this people," Elder Francis Hammond wrote, "they are litterally wasteing away under its influence."⁴²

Perhaps it was syphilis Thomas Karren encountered when called upon to administer to a man with a sore leg. "It was frightfull to look on. It made my heart Eak to behold such Suffering to See men and the[ir] flesh rob[bed] of [f] their Bones which is the Case With many of this people. Such objects of Suffering I never before beheld."⁴³

Tanner's diary entries for five days in May illustrate the magnitude of the suffering:

May 9: 5 sick came to us to be healed before breckfast. . . .

May 10: We have had a bout 15 cases of sick to day. I think out of sum hundreds of administrations I onley kno of 2 cases that have failed to git [better?] . . . & sum of them have ben rased up from the loest & last stage of life that can be found in a filthy lude house to helth & lots of them that ware half rotton with their desease.

May 11: We are adminestering to the sick . . . lots of sick coming & going all the time.

May 12: A house full of sick agan. 1 man that had not walked for 6 months, walked 3 forth of a mile to be babtised & back a gan rite threw the city. The children a long the streat sed the Calvins could not give men legs to walk like Mormons do.⁴⁴

May 13: . . . was it not for the will of god & that god did work with us & for the sake of suffering humanety we could never do the things that we are dewing daly.⁴⁵

That day, however, the thirteenth of May, the "will of god" shifted. A washerwoman and a young girl living two blocks from the palace were discovered to have smallpox.

A smallpox epidemic had never occurred in the Islands. Travelers were carefully checked, and isolated cases had been successfully quarantined. This was the first time residents had been diagnosed with the highly infectious and often fatal disease. After a twelve-day incubation period, patients developed severe headaches and back-aches, a high fever, and chills, followed by a severe rash, a return of the fever, and bacterial infection. Death came by infection of the lungs, heart, or brain. The entire course from infection to death usually took five or six weeks.

The two women were taken from their homes and quarantined, their clothing and grass houses burned. Their street was roped off

and guards placed around the perimeter. The board of health made vaccination mandatory for all inhabitants of the island. Some, fearing the cowpox vaccine almost as much as smallpox, fled to the mountains or sailed for other islands.⁴⁶

On Maui Francis Hammond wrote, "The saints wished to know if they should not go and get vaxinated as all the people were doing so. I told them if their faith was weak and [they] do not trust the Lord to go but as for myself I should not go, and if I died all was well."⁴⁷

"We have been preaching that the hour of God's judgments were at hand," Tanner wrote "and the small pox has borne a faithful testimony to the fact."⁴⁸ "Our Brethren thay say it is a judgment from the Lord," another wrote,

and thay feal to trust in him. . . . [The] judge . . . impressed a fine on all that did not git vaxenated of \$5 . Thay then was oblige to go & be vaxinated for thay had not the \$5 to pay. I have sean them after thay ware vaxenated pick thare arm & then suck it with thare mouth to git the mater out.⁴⁹

But the elders would be subject to heavy fines if convicted of interfering with vaccination, so Lewis directed all the elders and members to comply with the law.⁵⁰ Still, they resisted. One of the native elders, probably Kauwahi, circulated a petition among the Saints. "The[y] wanted no Medical men near Them," Thomas Karren wrote. "All the[y] wanted was the Elders Of the Church of Jesus Christ to Administer to them and to pray With them . . . I never Saw as much faith in my life."⁵¹

The epidemic began slowly—only two deaths by the first of June. But the virus was spreading rapidly. By the 18th of June, 41 had died. In the following week, 38 died; the next week, 189.⁵² Still, Uaua reported at the end of June, "very few" Saints had contracted the pox, "and those who have had it all got well by administering to them with oil and prayer except one who died."⁵³ If accurate, only one death would have been significant, for now the Mormons numbered six hundred, and nine or ten deaths might have been expected.⁵⁴

This apparent success heightened interest in Mormonism, and rumors circulated that members of the Reverend Smith's congregation had urged him to do

as the Mormons done, telling him that The[y] done like the Bible. He Said it was right and went to work and laid his Hands on Several of them. So it is With the Docters. The[y] have comenced Anointing with Oile Saying it Is the Best Cure for the S[mall] pox seeing The Mormons are very Successful in There administrations.⁵⁵

William Farrer was less sanguine. Visiting Honolulu in late June, he wrote,

I shall not soon forget the scenes of misery & wretchedness my eyes beheld. The first man we visited was one of our priests & a faithful man by the name of Kamahiai. When I left he was well & healthy to all appearances but now he was so disfigured with the small pox that no traces of his countenances were discoverable & his throat was so stopped up that his voice was scarcely audible. We administered to him & several others.⁵⁶

On the first of July, Farrer and Lewis returned to check on Brother Kamahiai. There they were surprised to discover Dr. Lathrop, who advised them Kamahiai would probably not live. As they were talking, an Englishman named Charley Turner arrived.⁵⁷ Turner, who had been hired by the marshal to help with the epidemic, accused Lewis of causing his mother-in-law's death by telling her to throw out her medicine. He threatened to kill Lewis or any other Mormon caught on his property again. The doctor tried to calm Turner down and the two left. Turner soon returned with two constables, who warned the elders to stop administering to the sick.

The missionaries, ignoring the warning, went to administer to another member. Again Turner and the constables appeared. Turner attacked Farrer, punching him three or four times in the face and chest, then turned on Lewis, threatening to kill him. The elders fled, with Turner on their tail, demanding that they go with him to the prison. Instead, they returned home and B. F. Johnson filed a complaint on their behalf, charging Turner with assault. He was fined \$12.⁵⁸

The doctors and constables were frustrated by Mormon obstructions. They were already overworked—Dr. Lathrop reported 568 patients under his care on the first of July—and natives were dying without ever seeing a doctor. On top of everything, it was discovered

too late that the first batch of vaccine, given to fifteen hundred people, was defective. Bodies were discovered in grass houses, in alleys, and on hillsides. Burial squads were overwhelmed. Corpses buried in shallow graves were unearthed and eaten by hogs and dogs.⁵⁹

At the hospital, Farrer wrote, "the stench . . . was almost unendurable although the natives in attendance . . . kept burning tar . . . to purify the room." He had difficulty finding the object of his visit, Sister Makainaina. She had lost so much facial skin as to be almost unrecognizable and was "near breathing her last. . . . At the door lay two corps ready to be carried of[f] to inter the one in a coffin, & the other wrapped up in native mats."⁶⁰

The deaths of Makainaina and Kamahiai are not specifically mentioned, but we do know that two sisters died on 1 July. Kahooulawa, who was ordained an elder on the 6th of July died of the pox on the 13th. Kahooulawa was, Hammond wrote, "much beloved by all the church. He is the first man out of this nation in this generation that has died with the Holy priesthood on him." Also dying that day was a brother Nuhi. A teacher, W. D. Umu, was also among the first Mormons to die. On 15 July, a sister Kaumaka succumbed.⁶¹

The next day, 16 July, a doctor and his assistant called on two households where the elders had administered to the sick. In the first, they left medicine and dumped out the Mormon tea. The occupants of the next household told the doctor he was not needed. Warned that if they did not get medical attention they would die, they replied, "If they did, it would only be like those who had had the doctors in that neighborhood who had all died."⁶²

Vaccination was an effective preventive—even Mormon elders did not dispute that. But once pox appeared, there was little that medicine or the laying on of hands could do. It was not always fatal, and doctors, like missionaries, may have attributed recoveries to their intervention, but neither medical nor priesthood arts could reverse death's rampage.

A brother Noomana and a few others died the last week of July. Henry Bigler discovered several abandoned houses in Kane'ohe. "The occupants had either all died or had fled to some other place, leaving everything behind, hogs, dogs, and pets to take care of themselves."⁶³

In the first week of August, J. W. Opunui, a priest; Makahoe, a

deacon; and Aaron Waiawa, a teacher, died.⁶⁴ Certainly others died unknown to the missionaries until weeks after the deaths occurred. Nevertheless, by late July it was obvious to everyone that Saints were dying. The Utah elders, their faith undisturbed by events, continued to send glowing reports to Utah. One insisted the elders were "administering to the sick with the greatest success, not any of the Saints dying who adhered to counsel and attended to the ordinances of the Gospel."⁶⁵

Farrer was more candid. In his diary he acknowledged, "There is scarcely a day but what someone of the Brethren or sisters is dying of this disease. The number of deaths that have come to my Knowledge in the district that I have charge of & which numbered a little rising of 400 when the Sickness commenced is near 100."⁶⁶

The death toll continued to climb. Brother Kaneauakala died on 28 August 28 and I. W. Kahona on the 30th.⁶⁷ The next day, Thomas Karren wrote,

When I first landed [in February], the Streets of Honolulu you would find Crowded all night and you would hear the Sound of Instruments of Musick all Over the Town With dancing and Rowding of all kinds. But O what a change. Travel through the Streets now and you will Scarsly meet with a pearson. It is sposed that a bout 1 third of the Inhabitants Of this Island has died with the Smallpox. It has taken Saint and Sinner. . . . I think there is a bout 1 half of this people that is under the venereal deases, and when they took the smallpox they died of[f] like rotten Sheep.⁶⁸

The Saints were surrounded by death. Their meeting house stood in the hardest hit area of Honolulu. "In one small yard near our meeting house there were 53 persons at the commencement of the disease 32 of which died," Farrer reported. "In another small yard there were 11 taken sick & taken to the hospital 10 of which died, & many such like cases have occured, & many houses have been left without inhabitant." While others minimized the effect smallpox had on the Saints, Farrer would only say that the Mormon death rate was no higher than the general population.⁶⁹

The scourge continued through September and into October. Henry Bigler had attended a conference at Kahaluu in September.

When he returned in November, he found seventeen members of the branch had died of the pox. "Elder Ioba and wife are dead," he wrote in his journal.

Brother Ioba was the presiding Elder of the branch a man who had influence among the people and among his brethren and was faithful and died a good man. I have noticed one thing and so has my Utah brethren that death has taken the best members we have on these Islands. He has seen fit to take the best Elders we have but perhaps they are taken for a wise purpose in the Lord as they have the Priesthood and may be sent to preach to the Spirits in prison as Jesus did, I mean to their dead.⁷⁰

In five months the epidemic was transformed from a scourge of the wicked to a mission call for the righteous.

It will never be known how many Hawaiians died that summer. The marshal said nearly six thousand, 30 percent. In Honolulu, the Reverend Lowell Smith lost 375 members, and the Reverend Ephraim Clark, 516. Other areas of the island were relatively unaffected, while in Ewa, 40 percent died.⁷¹ There, several months later, Reverend Artemas Bishop reported, "The whole state of society became disorganized. Almost every family was broken up. . . . The Sabbath was not well observed, & few meetings but thinly attended, & immorality prevailed. . . . There is [still] much apathy prevailing on the subject of religion."⁷²

The Mormons were similarly affected. Approximately 275 died—a third of all the Saints on the island,⁷³ and survivors were dispirited. Karren observed

a cloud of Gloom hanging Over This place. Those Crowded And spirited Meetings which Were Carried on hear a few Months Ago, has disappeared. Our Meetings In a great Measure has Been Broken up. We have had to Give up Our Meeting House. So great has Been the Distruction among this People that the[y] all most dispare of life. Even them that Serve.⁷⁴

The summer of 1853 was faith shattering. Those who had joined the church believing the priesthood would protect them and their loved ones were devastated. Shortly before he died, Isaaka Kahooulua

asked to be restored to his position in the Reverend Smith's congregation if he survived. His wife declared she would leave Mormonism whether he lived or not.⁷⁵ The widows of Opunui and Umu, and doubtless others, also refused to have anything to do with the church after their husbands died.⁷⁶

William Uaua had stopped proselyting in July when meetings were canceled to blunt the spread of the virus. He left the church a few months after the epidemic ended, though he later returned.⁷⁷

We have no native diaries or letters, so we cannot accurately assess the extent of disaffection, but we do know convert baptisms plummeted. From April through July there had been 750 baptisms—188 a month. From August to February 1854, the rate dropped to 18 a month, then to 12 a month through July, 1854. From July 1854 to July 1855, the rate rose slightly to an average of 20 a month—barely a tenth of the number averaged by Uaua, Kauwahi, Paku, and Kahooulua in the summer of 1853.

But the epidemic was only one cause for the decline of Mormonism on O'ahu. Many early converts had joined because the Mormons imposed no financial burden on members, as opposed to the Protestants, who required substantial donations to support missionaries and their families, build and maintain schools and churches, and even sponsor other missions in the Pacific. When the Mormons introduced tithing in October 1852, many were disillusioned.⁷⁸

But that was just the beginning. In October 1853, as the epidemic was beginning to abate, the elders decided to buy a printing press to publish the Book of Mormon in Hawaiian.⁷⁹ They also decided to buy a ship to emigrate the Saints to San Bernardino.⁸⁰ They borrowed \$1,500, due in twelve months. Repayment of the debt, on top of tithing, and donations for the ship, and for the return passage of Elders Cannon, Farrer, Bigler, Karren, and others to the mainland placed extraordinary demands on the Saints, who were in the midst of an economic depression brought on by the epidemic. Incessant pleas for money alienated many.

The emigration scheme failed when the ship bought by Nathan Tanner proved unseaworthy, and the funds were lost.⁸¹

Then in October 1854, the press arrived, but before it could be set up, it was returned to San Francisco, where George Q. Cannon would use it to publish the *Western Standard*.⁸² Cannon did print the Hawai-

ian Book of Mormon, which arrived in October 1855. The Saints were dismayed to learn that after buying the press, they would also have to buy the books printed on it. Few were purchased.⁸³

The Utah elders believed if they could gather the Saints in an isolated location, they could make “real” Mormons out of them. A friendly non-Mormon chief granted them the use of land on Lāna‘i, and a few dozen “pioneers” gathered to build the “city” of Joseph. Unfortunately, gathering stripped the branches of their most faithful Saints. In their absence, many lost interest in the church. When the crops failed on Lāna‘i, the colony disbanded, and many became disillusioned.

Then Kauwahi, the highest-profile Saint in the Islands, and one of Mormonism’s most prolific missionaries, left the church. He dated his disenchantment from 1854—right after the epidemic, the decisions to buy a printing press and a ship, and about the same time Uaua dropped out. A version of his 1856 letter explaining his reasons for leaving was included in John Hyde’s 1857 exposé published in Honolulu. Kauwahi criticized the Utah elders for reversing themselves on tithing and the Word of Wisdom. He denounced the Book of Mormon, plural marriage, gathering to Utah, and obedience to Brigham Young. Kauwahi’s defection, like the loss of Uaua, was a heavy blow to the Mormon cause, and many followed their example.⁸⁴

Hawaiian membership peaked at 4,200 in July 1855, just before Kauwahi’s defection. (At that point Hawaiians constituted 6 percent of church membership worldwide.⁸⁵) The figure is somewhat misleading, for Hawaiians moved about freely, and were hard to track down.⁸⁶ Many were kept on the rolls though no one knew where they were—or even if they were alive.⁸⁷ From mid-1855 through 1857, despite increased numbers of missionaries, membership declined.

Instead of revising their own program and methods, however, the Utah elders blamed the Protestant clergy and the perceived traits of the Hawaiian people—indolence, backwardness, and licentiousness.⁸⁸ “I never even dreamed of seeing so lifeless a race of people as are those with whom my lot is at present cast,” wrote one elder on Hawai‘i.⁸⁹ Wrote another,

Many, I believe, embraced the work at the commencement because it was something strange and new—a thing which this people are very

fond of; others . . . calculated [this] was a Church without money and without price; . . . when they came to find the Elders do actually have to eat, drink, and wear clothing . . . it caused some to "return to the pit from whence they were dug." . . . Others . . . sigh for the days of Kamehameha I, when they were permitted to act out their heathenish rites, bow down to wood and stone—idols made by their own hands.⁹⁰

In January 1857, Joseph F. Smith wrote, "Whoredoms and abominations of the darkest hue are mere by-words among them. Yet the unlimited practise of such wickedness is inevitable, owing to the nature of their laws and hereditary habits and customs."⁹¹

By March it was reported that "but few of the saints are liveing their religion, many have apostatized not being able to forsake their filthy, and abomnible ways."⁹²

By September Brigham Young had all but given up on the mission "The reports from the Sandwich Islands have for a number of years agreed in one thing," he wrote newly appointed mission president Henry Bigler,

and that is that the majority of the Saints on these islands have either been dead or are dying spiritually. It would appear that they occasionally, spasmodically resuscitate for a moment, only to sink lower than they were before. . . . You had better wind up the whole business and return with most of the Elders as soon as possible.⁹³

Later Young amended his directive to include all Utah elders. The mission was to be abandoned.

Everyone agreed it had been a failure. From April to October of 1857, only three new members were baptized on O'ahu, while twenty-four were excommunicated and nine died. There were still 371 members of record, "but few of them alive to their religion many of them dead, the officers as well as members."⁹⁴

"It is like preaching to the walls," Henry Bigler concluded. "There is not ten good members. All have dwindled away and withered up. . . . And they are now as dead limbs not having been severed from the tree."⁹⁵

So on 6 October 1857 most of the Mormon missionaries sailed away, the last four following a few months later.

The Hawaiian Saints were ignored by Mormon officials until the flamboyant Walter Murray Gibson arrived in July 1861.⁹⁶ Gibson had been given broad authority by Brigham Young to represent the church in the Far East, but when he discovered so many believing Mormons on O'ahu and Maui, Gibson decided to remain in the Islands to build up a Polynesian "empire." With funds donated by the Saints, Gibson purchased the land on Lāna'i and reestablished the Mormon colony there.

Though Mormon doctrine provided for only one First Presidency and council of Twelve Apostles, Gibson ordained the leading men apostles and organized his own First Presidency.⁹⁷ He kept Brigham Young informed of these innovations, but the prophet inexplicably overlooked them or gave tacit approval.⁹⁸

Finally, after several Saints wrote in July 1863 that Gibson was selling priesthood offices, Young dispatched apostles Ezra T. Benson and Lorenzo Snow with three former missionaries as translators to investigate. They excommunicated Gibson in April 1864. The Saints were initially hesitant to abandon Gibson, but within days nearly all of Gibson's supporters deserted him and established a new Mormon colony at Lā'ie.

We have very few documents written by Hawaiian Saints during this period and little to give us their perspective. Nevertheless, it is apparent that despite the smallpox epidemic, loss of the printing press, abandonment of the mission, Walter Murray Gibson, horrific diseases, and haole prejudices, many clung to their faith and to the belief that they had a destiny to fulfill as part of God's chosen people. On 1 June 1915 LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith dedicated a temple site at Lā'ie, where the first functioning Mormon temple outside of Utah was built—a tribute to the resilient faith of Hawaiian Latter-day Saints.

NOTES

An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the Sunstone Symposium in Salt Lake City, August 1996.

¹ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1778–1854 (U of Hawai'i P, 1965) 100–116. For a general history of Mormonism in the Hawaiian Islands,

see R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1986) 91–191.

² The first Mormon missionaries and their initial assignments were: Mission president Hiram Clark, Thomas Morris, and Thomas Whittle (Honolulu); Henry W. Bigler, George Q. Cannon, and James Keeler (Lahaina); John Dixon and William Farrer (Kaua'i); and Hiram Blackwell and James Hawkins (Hawai'i).

³ George Q. Cannon (1827–1901) was born in Liverpool, England. His family joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) in 1840 and emigrated to church headquarters in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1842. He was among the first settlers of Salt Lake City (1847). Soon after his mission to Hawai'i, he was ordained an apostle (1860), then served as European mission president (1861–1864) and Utah's delegate to Congress (1872–1882). He was a member of the church's First Presidency from 1880 to 1901. For Cannon's account of his mission to the islands, see "My First Mission," *Three Mormon Classics*, comp. Preston Nibley (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1988) 112–95.

⁴ Jonathana H. Napela was born in Olowalu, Maui, in 1818 or 1819. He enrolled in Lahainaluna at age thirteen, one of forty-three students in the school's first grade of its inaugural year (1831). David Malo was in the same class. Napela married Kitty Richardson (half-Hawaiian, half-Caucasian) and by 1848 was a district judge. Kitty's brother was also a district judge and a member of the legislature. Napela's generosity and support of the Mormon missionaries become legendary. He served in Walter Murray Gibson's First Presidency while Gibson presided over Mormons on Lāna'i (1862–1864). When Gibson was ousted in 1864, Napela joined others in establishing the Mormon plantation at Lā'ie. In 1869 he visited Brigham Young in Salt Lake City and presented Young's photograph to King Kalākaua on his return. Kitty contracted Hansen's disease and was transferred with many others to the leper colony at Kalaupapa in July 1873. Napela went with her and assisted in the management of the colony. He also presided over two small branches of the church there, where he also contracted the disease and died on 6 August 1879. B. Morris Young to Brigham Young, 6 July 1873, Brigham Young Papers, Latter-day Saint Church Archives (LDSCA); Henry P. Richards diary, 26 Jan. 1878; Kalaupapa death register, AH.

⁵ Kaleohano began his studies at Lahainaluna in 1842 and remained a member of the church the rest of his life. Cannon, "My First Mission" 150. He was a successful missionary on Maui and in the early 1860s was ordained a seventy by Walter Murray Gibson. He later moved to the Mormon plantation at Lā'ie.

William Uaua was born in Wailuku on 7 January 1821. Record of Members, Hawaiian Mission, vol. 1, entry 404, Special Collections, BYU Hawai'i, Lā'ie.

For Lahainaluna connections, see Laws and Regulations of the Missionary Seminary 1835, Lahainaluna High School, 1835; *Ka Hae Hawai'i*, 19 May 1858: 26; Cannon, "My First Mission" 150; Tanner diary, 17 Apr. 1853, LDSCA.

⁶ Francis A. Hammond to Parley P. Pratt, Jr., 28 Aug. 1852, Parley P. Pratt Collection, LDSCA. Also, "Brother C spoke on the organisation of the Church

in the Last days and the Coming forth of the Book of morman . . . the peoples eyes were filled with tears. They felt to regonise in the truth." James Keeler diary, 18 Aug. 1851, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter HBLL).

During his initial outings from Lahaina, Cannon visited David Malo, who complimented him on his rapid progress in the language. Malo, Cannon recorded, also believed Hawaiians were Israelites and discussed similarities between Hawaiian and Old Testament practices. George Q. Cannon diary, 18 Mar. 1851, LDSA.

⁷ Cannon diary, 22 June 1851, 17 Apr. 1853; Keeler, 17 Aug. 1851; Francis A. Hammond diary, 26 Feb., 24 Mar. 1854, LDSA.

⁸ Cannon to Farrer and Bigler, 23 June 1851, Letters to and from Missionaries in the Sandwich Islands 1851–1860, HBLL; Hammond to Parley P. Pratt, Jr., 28 Aug. 1851, Parley P. Pratt Papers, LDSA.

⁹ Farrer, 10 May, 14 Nov., 10–12 Dec. 1851, Keeler, 27 May 1853; Thomas Karren diary, 29 May 1853, HBLL.

¹⁰ Farrer, 10 May, 17 Aug. 1851, 4 Oct. 1852.

¹¹ Farrer diary, 29 Oct. and 7, 12, 18 Nov. 1851. In Ke'anae, Maui, where two hundred had been baptized, Keeler reported "a great falling away on the account of persicution by the Sects of the day." The Roman Catholic priests had effectively opposed Mormon doctrine, and speaking little Hawaiian, Keeler was unable to stem the defections. Then a chief in Lahaina dispatched a *konohiki* to order the saints to stay away from their meetings. When they ignored the directive, the *konohiki* interviewed them one by one, threatening to arrest all who disobeyed and send them to O'ahu. All but four acquiesced. Keeler, 24, 15 Aug. and 7, 14, 20, 21, 24 Sept. 1851; Cannon diary, 3, 7, 10 Sept. 1851. After protesting to the ministers of foreign affairs and interior and to the U.S. commissioner, Cannon obtained assurances that the Mormons should be allowed to meet without interference and meetings resumed. Cannon diary, 25 Sept.–8 Oct. 1851.

¹² Farrer, 17 Jan. 1852.

¹³ Henry Bigler diary, 4 May 1852, HBLL.

¹⁴ Cannon recorded the incident several months after the fact. "Her eyes were rigid and appeared to be set she not having use of them. . . . We laid hands on her and rebuked the sickness in the name of the Lord and commanded it to depart, and she experienced relief immediately and fell asleep." Cannon diary, 1 Jan. 1853.

¹⁵ Francis A. Hammond to Parley P. Pratt, Jr., 11 June 1853, Francis A. Hammond Collection, LDSA; Cannon diary, 5 Feb. 1853; Allred, 31 Mar. 1853.

¹⁶ Cannon diary, 8 Feb. 1853; Allred, 30 Mar. 1853.

¹⁷ Reddick N. Allred diary, 27 Feb. 1853, LDSA.

¹⁸ Allred, 3 Mar. 1853. A few days later, Nathan Tanner wrote, "I have used every exertion to procure a house to preach in to the whites in this plase. Every thing seames very forbiding. The preasts are combined to cheek up their salery & the

preasts controll the coart house & all the Churches & the tavern cheepers cant git their lisance or controle their coustom onley threw the Preasts." Nathan Tanner diary, 74, LDSCA.

¹⁹ Allred, 2, 3, 6 Mar. 1853; Tanner diary, 57.

²⁰ Allred, 10 Mar. 1853.

²¹ Allred, 13-14 Mar. 1853.

²² Allred, 7 Mar. 1853, LDSCA.

²³ Karren, 5, 6 May 1853.

²⁴ "Some times I ask some of the brethren to speak and express their feelings," he wrote. When he asked Kaaimanu to dismiss a morning meeting in May 1853, Bigler described the prayer as "a streak of lightning runing down a pole that I Could not tell head or tail of it, and did not know whether to say amen or not though like the old man I once herd of I said Amen to adventure." Bigler to Farrer, 1 May 1853, Letters to and from Missionaries in the Sandwich Islands 1851-1860, typescript, 138, HBLL; Allred, 29 Mar. 1853.

²⁵ Tanner diary, 8 Apr. 1853.

²⁶ Keeler, 29 Mar. 1853; Farrer, 2 Apr. 1853.

²⁷ Farrer, 25 Mar.; 2, 3 Apr. 1853.

²⁸ Tanner diary, 20 Mar., 8, 10-22 Apr. 1853.

²⁹ Tanner to Brother Campbell, 9 Sept. 1853, in *Deseret News*, 15 Dec. 1853: 3.

³⁰ Isaaka had been a leader in a Protestant congregation, and his defection to the Mormons stung the Rev. Lowell Smith. "One of my church lunas has joined them with his wife; & he is far more zealous now in proselyting for the Mormons, than he ever was with us. For Some two or three years past, I have feared that he would Some day, prove himself to be destitute of true piety. He is one of the native doctors; & notwithstanding all the light & knowledge, the lectures & Sermons which he has heard, demonstrating the utter nonsense of the feasting, & the jugling of native doctors, yet he has always had some of this alloy in his composition." Lowell Smith, Kaumakapili Station Report, May 1853, HMCS. Isaaka was ordained a priest 6 July 1853. Farrer.

³¹ Tanner and Kahumoku left for Hawai'i on the first of June. Tanner diary. Kahumoku died suddenly on 27 July after a brief but highly successful career on Hawai'i. Francis Hammond wrote that Kahumoku "was universal beloved by all who knew him. His whole soul and body, and all he had was engaged in the work of the Lord . . . and his history will show that he was emanently successful, far more so I think than any other Elder which has been ordained on these lands." Hammond diary, 26 Aug. 1853. It may be assumed that Kahumoku was responsible for the 150 baptisms on Hawai'i between 9 July and 27 July. Tanner to Brother Campbell.

³² Farrer, 11 June, 19 July 1853.

³³ Farrer, 24 Apr. 1853.

³⁴ Tanner diary, 24 Apr. 1853.

³⁵ Farrer, 24 Apr. 1853.

³⁶ Tanner diary, 26 Apr. 1853.

- ³⁷ Farrer, 1–12 May 1853. Letters from the elders in Honolulu to Allred dated 2 May reported 148 baptisms in the city. Allred, 9 May 1853. Farrer's diary records five baptisms on 2 May.
- ³⁸ Ephraim Clark, Honolulu Station Report, 18 May 1853, HMCS.
- ³⁹ Tanner diary, 7 May 1853. "Although I cant doe much preaching I am Kept prity buisley runing to administer to the Sick and to help to Confirm as Elder Farrer is the Only on[e] amoung us that are here that Can Speak the Language." Karren, 6 May 1853.
- ⁴⁰ O. A. Bushnell, *The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1993) 231.
- ⁴¹ Alonzo Chapin, who visited Hawai'i in 1832–1835, quoted in Bushnell, *Gifts* 233.
- ⁴² Hammond diary, 27 Oct. 1853.
- ⁴³ Karren, 26 May 1853.
- ⁴⁴ Karren's account: "On Thursday 12th we Babtised 9. There was One man that did not walk for 6 or 7 month before. When first we administired to him he was very low with his Limbs all drawn up. He disturbed all The Neighbourhood with his Cries and Gronces. He told us that he would have Been Babtised when first he heard of us. He manifested great faith. We administered to him. His pain left him wright of[f] and in a few days he got up and to day he has walked To the waters of babtism which is About ½ a mile. He is filled with Joy and gladness. It is a Stonishing The faith this people has got."
- ⁴⁵ Tanner's enthusiastic reports quickly spread to the other missionaries and to the mainland. On Maui, Hammond wrote to Parley P. Pratt in California, "The native Saints . . . manifested great faith in the power of healing . . . and the Elders were greatly blessed in their administrations in this connection. . . . Many cures have been performed . . . the lame has been made to walk, the blind to see, and the weak made strong; and we feel to ascribe the praise to God our Heavenly Father."
- ⁴⁶ Richard A. Greer, "Oahu's Ordeal—The Smallpox Epidemic of 1853," *Hawaii Historical Review: Selected Readings*, ed. Richard A. Greer (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1969) 41–42; Bushnell, *Gifts* 47.
- ⁴⁷ Hammond diary, 18 May 1853.
- ⁴⁸ Tanner to Brother Campbell.
- ⁴⁹ Ephraim Green diary, 13 June 1853 (at Wailuku), HBLL.
- ⁵⁰ Farrer, 16 July 1853; Hammond diary, 11–13 June 1853.
- ⁵¹ Karren, 22 June 1853.
- ⁵² Greer, "Oahu's Ordeal" 45–46, 48.
- ⁵³ Hammond diary, 29 June 1853. Bigler also wrote to Keeler that the Saints were blessed "in comparism to the people out of the church. In nearly all cases where we have administered to them & they have obeyed our council & scarcely one has died as yet that has been administered to." 30 June 1853 in Letters to and from Missionaries, 163.
- ⁵⁴ The September 1853 issue of *The Friend* estimated the O'ahu population at

18,000–20,000. Greer, "Oahu's Ordeal" 75. Based on that estimate, the mortality rate at the end of June was roughly 1.4 percent.

⁵⁵ Karren, 22 June 1853.

⁵⁶ Farrer, 28 June 1853.

⁵⁷ Greer, "Oahu's Ordeal" 47.

⁵⁸ The case went to court almost immediately. B. F. Johnson, representing the elders, charged Turner with assault. The defense, in turn, accused the elders of malpractice. Turner, they said, was acting in an official capacity as a nurse appointed by the marshal to protect the sick from Mormon interference. Johnson countered that charges of malpractice were a smoke screen to hide religious persecution and insisted the case be confined to assault charges, not medical issues. Farrer, 1–7 July 1853.

⁵⁹ Greer, "Oahu's Ordeal" 47; Ephraim Clark, Honolulu Station Report, 1853, HMCS; Tanner to Brother Campbell.

⁶⁰ Farrer, 23 July 1853. On 30 July Farrer reported that a Brother Noomana died just as Farrer arrived to visit him. Tanner received word from O'ahu in late July that there had been a thousand deaths (likely a report based on Uaua's estimate) but "only three of our Church had fallen." Honolulu Hawaii General Mission Minutes (HHM), 10 June 1853, LDSA. (This source often presents material out of chronological sequence.)

⁶¹ Farrer, 1, 6, 13, 15 July 1853; 5 May 1853; 6 Sept. 1853; Hammond diary, 21 July 1853.

⁶² Farrer, 16 July 1853.

⁶³ Bigler, diary 29 July 1853.

⁶⁴ Farrer, 30 July 1853; 6, 8, 9 Aug. 1853.

⁶⁵ *Deseret News*, 29 Oct. 1853: 3, citing letters from George Q. Cannon of 26 July and B. F. Johnson of 10 August.

⁶⁶ Farrer, 22 Aug. 1853.

⁶⁷ Farrer, 28 Aug. 1853.

⁶⁸ Karren, 31 Aug. 1853.

⁶⁹ "I do not think that this is any larger ration than what is common in the places where the disease has spread." Farrer, 26 Aug. 1853.

⁷⁰ Bigler diary, 16 Nov. 1853.

⁷¹ Greer, "Oahu's Ordeal" 50, 75; Clark, 3 May 1854. *The Missionary Herald* of May 1854 (cited in Greer, "Oahu's Ordeal" 64) quotes Bishop as reporting 1,200 deaths in Ewa out of a total population of 2,800.

⁷² Clark, 3 May 1854.

⁷³ On 30 June Lewis estimated a Maui membership of 600. Letter to the First Presidency in HHM. At a Maui conference held at Kahaluu on 11 September, Farrer reported "upwards of 700" members on the island. Karren reported 700 members and 125 smallpox deaths. Bigler reported "about 625 members of the Church as the result of our labors on this Island during the last twelve month." Assuming 75 members in late 1852, 625 converts would bring the

total to roughly 700 believed to be alive. To be consistent with Farrer and Karren's numbers, however, Bigler's calculation must not have included the 125 known to have died. If they are added to the 625 "living" converts, the total number of converts from October 1852 to September 1853 would have been 750. Karren, Farrer, Bigler diary, 11 Sept. 1853.

Only 170 *mission-wide* deaths were reported at the October conference, "the most of whome died with small pox." Bigler diary, 6 Oct. 1853. But at the Maui conference in March 1854, Bigler reported 125 new baptisms since the September conference, which brought the total living membership on Maui to 603. Starting with 700 members in September, 222 deaths must have been discovered between September and March. Somewhat arbitrarily assigning 22 deaths to other causes and 50 unreported removals to other islands, roughly 150 deaths may have been discovered between September and March. Adding those 150 to the 125 smallpox deaths reported in September, this would raise the total smallpox deaths to roughly 275—33 percent of the 825 total membership (75 + 750 converts).

⁷⁴ Karren, 18 Sept. 1853.

⁷⁵ Lowell Smith, Kaumakapili Station Report, 1854, HMCs.

⁷⁶ Farrer, 5, 6 Sept. 1853.

⁷⁷ John S. Woodbury diary, 31 Oct. 1857, HBLI. He was "one of our leading native Elders" in 1878. Henry P. Richards diary, 18 Jan. 1878, LDSA.

⁷⁸ "They tell the people that they will not be required to do anything for the Support of their Ministers, nor for the building of churches, nor for foreign Missions. . . . They have persuaded quite a number of excommunicated church members, & of others who have never been church members, & who have never given any evidence of piety, to go and be baptized." Lowell Smith, May 1853.

When Cannon and Keeler first preached to the natives, Mormonism was "hailed with Joy and hundreds flocked to the new standard, as it was reported that they could belong to the new church and smok[e] their old pipes too. And another thing which induced hundreds to join was the story that got out stating that this church did not exact any money, and as they were heavily burthened in the calvin church. Many left on that account aloan and joined."

Hammond to Parley P. Pratt, Jr., 4 June 1855.

⁷⁹ To raise funds quickly, the Utah elders borrowed \$1,000 from Edmund Dennis, a British convert, and \$500 from Chief Haalelea, a friendly non-Mormon who had been a classmate of Napela's at Lahainaluna. Elder McBride took the \$1,500 to the coast to purchase the press on 23 February 1854. Hammond diary. Repayment of the debts, both of which were due in one year, placed a heavy burden on the mission, and raising money became a distressingly prominent theme.

⁸⁰ Hammond diary, 13 Feb. 1854. While it was popularly believed that Hawaiian law forbade native emigration, Reddin A. Allred reported meeting with Judge Lee, who informed him and B. F. Johnson that only a bond was required from

captains who took on Hawaiian seamen to guarantee their return to the Islands because some had been left stranded in foreign lands. The law was not intended to "prevent the natives from taking their families and going where they choose. The Judge said he did not think such a law could be made." Reddin A. Allred to Robert Campbell, *Deseret News*, 27 Apr. 1854.

By May 1854, one hundred Saints were reported ready to sail for California as soon as the vessel arrived, intending to prepare the way for those who would follow later. Hammond to Bigler, 24 May 1854, in Letters to and from Missionaries, 68.

⁸¹ "Their confidence weakened ever since the Ship speculation which proved to be a failure together with the printing press was taken away from them and sent to San Francisco after having so many pritty things told them" Bigler diary, 9 Oct. 1857.

⁸² Simpson Molen diary, 5 Oct. 1854, LDSCA; B. F. Johnson, "My Life Review," 6 Oct. 1854, 177, LDSCA; Hammond diary, 13 Jan. 1855; Green, 21 Jan. 1855; Edward Partridge to George Q. Cannon, 16 Oct. 1856, in HHM. The idea of sending the press to California was circulating as early as March 1854 based on the assumption the Hawaiian saints would be going there: "Bro Lyman has expressed a wish to have the press located at San Bernardino; and we have come to conclusion that if the Saints are gathered there, that that will be the best place for it, and we have consequently written to the Presidency at San Bernardino, that if they will furnish a vessel, that we will pledge ourselves to furnish the press." Lewis to Farrer, 26 Mar. 1854, in "Letters to and from Missionaries," 123-24.

⁸³ "The saints were informed of the arrival of a few Books of Mormon and they manifested a willingness to bye, though they had previously entertained the thought that the book would be distributed gratis among them inasmuch as they had aided in purchaseing the printing press." John R. Young diary, 5 Oct. 1856, HBLL. By the time the elders were called home, 114 had been "disposed of," though not all the money gathered, and 66 remained unsold. HHM, 6 Oct. 1857.

⁸⁴ "Went with Br. Bigler to visit Some of the used to be Saints at Waikahalulu, but who are now So near dead they never come to meeting. . . . Some Said they had left the church & gone to Calvinist because Kauwahi, Uaua, and others (who they Said wer wise men) had fell into Sin & left the church, & they thought if it had been the true church, these men would not have left it, & therefore the more ignorent leaned upon them & their wisdom & followed in their foot-steps." Woodbury, 31 Oct. 1857.

As late as October 1855 Kauwahi was scheduled, with Napela and Kaleo-hano, to accompany Francis Hammond when he returned to Utah. But for unknown reasons none of the three made the trip.

Kauwahi's pamphlet is included in the copy of Hyde's book in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I am indebted to Richard Walk for his translation of the pamphlet.

⁸⁵ Woodbury, and Ward E. Pack diary, 24 July 1855, HBLL. Church membership in 1855 was 63,974. *Deseret News 1989-90 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1989) 203.

⁸⁶ For example, after the epidemic, Farrer started looking up Waikiki converts who had come in "during the time of the people coming in so fast that I cannot find their place of residence." 6 Sept. 1853.

⁸⁷ "They are easily excited, and continually on the move, like the various bands of Indians that roam over our mountain home. There are here to day, and there tomorrow; for this reason it is a hard and perplexing task for the elders to keep track of the members. John R. Young to Lorenzo D. Young, *Deseret News* 4 June 1856.

As the elders prepared to leave the islands, Bigler reported 3,192 members of record, but many had moved and the elders had lost track of them. Bigler diary, 4 Oct. 1857.

⁸⁸ Hammond diary, 8, 23 Feb., 12 Mar., 7 Apr. 1854.

⁸⁹ John R. Young to Lorenzo D. Young, 23 Dec. 1855, in *Deseret News* 4 June 1856. Transferred to Moloka'i, he observed, "The saints at this place are very cold and backward, and they seem to begrudge me the salt and potatoes I eat, and it is my candid opinion that one half who profes to be L. D. saints are destitute even of faith in our lord Jesus Christ. They are 'mormons' in order to elude the heavy taxes imposed upon them by the Sectarian Clergy." Young diary, 24 Aug. 1856.

⁹⁰ Henry P. Richards to Franklin S. Richards, 18 Mar. 1856, *Millennial Star* (London: F. D. Richards, 17 July 1856) 18: 458.

⁹¹ Joseph F. Smith to Heber C. Kimball in HHM, 1 Jan. 1857. Smith (1838-1918), a nephew of Mormonism's founding prophet, was ordained an apostle in 1867 and became the church's sixth president in 1901.

⁹² Young diary, 22 Mar. 1857.

⁹³ Brigham Young to Henry Bigler, 4 Sept. 1857, in HHM, 16 Oct. 1857.

⁹⁴ Woodbury, 23 Sept. 1857.

⁹⁵ Bigler diary, 9 Oct. 1857.

⁹⁶ Gwynn Barrett, "Walter Murray Gibson: The Shepherd Saint of Lanai Revisited," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 40.2 (1972): 142-62; Frank W. McGhie, "The Life and Intrigues of Walter Murray Gibson" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young U, 1958).

⁹⁷ "I have thought it best to ordain some Seventies, and some Aaronic priests to attend to the duties of bishops and the title loving natives have not been backward in giving them new appellations. As this Oceanic branch as I desire to term it, is totally unqualified to gather to the Centre Stake on America, it will I trust meet your approval that they should enjoy an organization after the pattern of the main body of the Church. Hence there has been established a First Presidency. I have associated with me br Napela, and Enoch Kawailepolepo; two very intelligent Hawaiians who would even pass muster among the most enlightened of America." Walter M. Gibson to Brigham Young, 16 Jan. 1862, copy in Brigham Young Papers. Original in AH.

Kaleohano was ordained a seventy. Walter Murray Gibson to Robert Brown, 1 Sept. 1862, Robert Brown Correspondence, LDSA.

- ⁹⁸ On 16 May 1862, Young replied briefly that he had received the letter, gave Gibson a favorable report of his sons, and concluded, "praying that the guidance of the Spirit and all needed blessings may attend your labors in the cause of truth." Brigham Young Papers. Two months later Young wrote, "We were much pleased to learn that you had been blest in establishing so good a feeling between yourself and the native brethren, and that so many of them were being baptized . . . P. S. Give my love to Bro's Napela, Kalepolepo and the other native Elders associated with you in the work of the ministry." Brigham Young to Walter Murray Gibson, 10 July 1862, Brigham Young Papers.